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THE NEGRO
IN
THE ALL-WHITE NEIGHBORHOOD

PENNSYLVANIA HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION

HARRISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA

1968

THE NEGRO
in
THE ALL-WHITE NEIGHBORHOOD

A study of the experiences of 36 Negro families who moved into previously all-white rural and suburban neighborhoods and of the attitudes of their white neighbors.

PENNSYLVANIA HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION

Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

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"Racial discrimination in the modern world is plainly in retreat, but it will make its last stand, without doubt, in the neighborhood."

Report of the Commission on Race and Housing, 1958

INTRODUCTION

Since 1961, Pennsylvania has had one of the strongest Fair Housing Laws in the nation which assures every citizen of his right to purchase the housing of his choice, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, providing he is financially qualified.¹ Yet, until January 29, 1968, over half of the housing units in the State were excluded because owner-occupied dwellings for sale were permitted to be sold on a discriminatory basis.

Despite these shortcomings, many Negroes in Pennsylvania have been able to extricate themselves from the city ghettos, when they have been fortunate enough to acquire a decent education and find suitable employment. Many have moved to better "Negro" neighborhoods, some have moved into interracial settings, and fewer still have braved the odds and have established themselves in otherwise all-white neighborhoods.

What have been the experiences of those who moved to white neighborhoods? Did each neighborhood erupt into a cauldron of violence, hatred, and destruction as did Folcroft, Pennsylvania, in 1963 and Kensington in 1966?

The Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission has been aware of most of the "move-ins" to all-white neighborhoods for the past few years, but if its services are not needed a subsequent follow-up is not made. Therefore, no one seemed to know what the subsequent experiences of these pioneers had been. It was felt that this knowledge could be helpful to the Commission in the development of its programs and policies, in carrying out its day to day work as well as in providing information for other interested persons or groups. Therefore, the present study was conducted as an internal device for improvement of the Commission's program and for the information of the citizens of Pennsylvania.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to document and evaluate, as objectively as possible, the experiences of Negro pioneer families - those who have moved into all-white neighborhoods

¹ Pennsylvania Human Relations Act; Act #222, October 27, 1955, P.L. 744 amended by Act #19, February 28, 1961, P.L. 47

in suburban and rural areas of Pennsylvania, in terms of: (A) the ease of entry, (B) neighborhood relationships (acceptance), (C) basic attitudes, and (D) socio-economic status. Each area in itself could be expanded into a separate study, but they have been combined in this instance for reasons of expediency and parsimonious utilization of staff time.

RELATION TO PRIOR STUDIES

Prior studies with a similar format have been made in at least three highly urbanized area--Seattle, Washington¹; Philadelphia, Pa.²; and Pittsburgh, Pa.³ Although these studies were well prepared and well executed, they may not be representative of a true cross-section of Negro pioneers by virtue of the exclusively metropolitan locale of their sampling areas. In all instances, it would appear that these studies documented the experience of the middle-class, professionally stable Negro family living in the midst of metropolitan affluence. It was felt that a difference might exist between them and pioneers of other class levels scattered throughout Pennsylvania in smaller cities, towns, and rural areas not principally influenced by the big-city atmosphere. One of the aims of this study is to find out whether the basic attitudes and opinions of these pioneers actually were different from those of their metropolitan counterparts.

It is hoped that the results of this study will lend themselves to a comparison with the results of the other studies. Since Heim's Pittsburgh study seems to be representative of all the others, particular statistical comparisons will be made to it only.

1 Northwood, L.K. and Ernest A.T. Barth. "Urban Desegregation: Negro Pioneers and Their White Neighbors" -- Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965.

2 Jayne, Dorothy. "First Families: A Study of 20 Pioneer Negro Families Who Moved Into White Neighborhoods in Metropolitan Philadelphia." Unpublished Masters Dissertation. Graduate Department of Social Work and Social Research. Bryn Mawr College, 1960: Summary Report Published by the Philadelphia City Commission on Human Relations.

3 Heim, Elizabeth. "A Study of the Adjustment Problems of Negro Families who have settled in white neighborhoods in the Pittsburgh Area, and the Attitudes of their White Neighbors." Tutorial Study in Sociology; Chatham College, April, 1959.

SAMPLE AND PRE-INTERVIEW CONTACTS

A. The Pioneer Family

The samples involved in the study consisted of Negro pioneer families and their white neighbors. Some of the samples of the pioneer families were chosen from those known to the Commission from prior contact, often at the time of the "move-in" of the family to the white neighborhood.¹ Others were identified by the staff through their knowledge of the various communities in their respective regions.² Assistance was sought by the Commission's Regional Offices from other sources within the Negro community in the identification of families who might meet the criteria of a pioneer family.

Each prospective family was then sent a letter over the signature of the Commission's Director requesting permission to interview them for the study. A short questionnaire was included with a self-addressed stamped envelope for return. The questions determined whether the family was in reality a pioneer family. For those who did not meet the criteria established, another letter was sent to them thanking them for their offer of assistance and explaining why they were excluded from the study. Then the Regional Director or Housing Specialist for the appropriate region contacted the family directly (by telephone whenever possible) to request confirmation of its willingness to participate and to establish a convenient appointment time for the interview.

1 Through its program of tension-control in the State, the Commission provides a community service when it is known that a Negro family is moving into an all-white neighborhood. Field representatives gather data on a confidential basis to ascertain if there is likely to be any danger of violence or harassment directed against the non-white family. If it becomes apparent that there may be tension in the neighborhood or community, PHRC staff engages in discussions with neighbors, police, and community leaders in an attempt to help eliminate the problem through whatever methods might be appropriate.

2 PHRC has three Regional Offices located in Pittsburgh, Harrisburg, and Philadelphia. The Pittsburgh region covers 23 contiguous western counties; Harrisburg 39 central and northeastern counties; and, Philadelphia 5 southeastern counties.

B. The White Neighbors

To eliminate inconsistency in the selection of the close white neighbors to be interviewed, rigid criteria were applied. Those selected were 3 or 4 nearby white neighbors --- one on each side, and one directly across the street when the homes were in areas with streets and blocks, or in developments; in other areas the 3 closest neighbors were approached for interviews. Another white interview was held with someone who lived 3 to 4 blocks away or, in rural areas, someone living 1 or 2 miles away. In cases where no one lived across the street, another neighbor on the same side was chosen by the interviewer. If any of the white neighbors refused to participate in the study, no substitution was sought. Therefore, the number of white interviews per pioneer family does vary.

The white sample was visited without prior notification. The interviewers introduced themselves only as employees of the Department of Labor and Industry who were conducting a survey of neighborhood relations.¹

METHODOLOGY

The method used was an in-depth interview with the Negro families and white neighbors. The interviews were as structured as possible, but free-flowing to the extent that the interviewer determined the relevancy and completeness of the information which was obtained. This permitted the collection of pertinent narrative material in sequential order with the interviewer interrupting only to clarify certain points or asking for more detail. Some questions were answered in their entirety as a result of the expansion of another question. In these instances, the interviewer did not ask the second question, but recorded it separately. Many of the questions were forced-choice and asked of both the pioneer and white respondents. These, of necessity, were always asked by the interviewer to assure that the wording of the questions was constant for all respondents.

All interviewers were employees of the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission at the Human Relations Representative I and II levels -- except that 2 of the interviews were conducted by college students who were employed for the summer by the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission. All of the interviewers were male.

As a departure from the previous studies mentioned above, different interviewers interviewed the pioneer and white

1. The Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission is an administrative agency of the Department of Labor and Industry.

families, so that Negro field representatives were responsible for the pioneer interviews while white field representatives interviewed the white neighbors. It was felt that this served no purpose except for whatever initial rapport would be achieved by an interviewer of the same race. Also, it was felt that white interviewees might be more reluctant to express their attitudes, if prejudicial, to Negro field representatives. Samples of the interview formats used can be found in Appendix #2.

Interviews were completed for 36 pioneer families and 123 of their white neighbors. The geographic location of the families is shown on a map of Pennsylvania (see Appendix #1).

THE SAMPLE

Sex of Person Interviewed

There was a difference between the sex of the pioneer and the white sample who were interviewed. Men and women were interviewed in almost the same proportion for the pioneers, but the majority of white neighbors interviewed were women. This can be accounted for by the difference in methods used to initiate interviews for the two groups. Both the husband and wife were interviewed in a majority of the pioneer sample.

TABLE #1

SEX OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED		
	Pioneers	Whites
Only Man	5	20
Only Woman	7	83
Both Man and Woman	24	20

Buyers and Renters

The majority of both groups either owned the homes in which they were living or were in the process of buying them. A majority of the pioneers had either owned other homes or had been buying their previous home. This was not true for the whites.

TABLE #2¹

BUYERS & RENTORS

	Pioneers	Whites
Own or Buying Present Home	33 (92%)	106 (86%)
Presently Renting	3 (8%)	17 (14%)

TABLE #3

PAST BUYERS & RENTORS

	Pioneers	Whites
Previous Buyers	21 (58%)	48 (39%)
Previous Rentors	13 (36%)	63 (51%)
Neither*	2 (6%)	12 (8%)

*Includes those newly married or who are living apart from their family for the first time and several who have owned their present home for many years.

Religion

Thirty-four of the 36 pioneers identified their religious affiliation as Protestant--the other two were Catholic. 68 of the whites were Protestant, 38 were Catholic, 4 Jewish, and 12 were unaffiliated.

TABLE #4

RELIGION

	Pioneers	Whites
Catholics	2 (6%)	38 (31%)
Protestant	34 (94%)	68 (56%)
Jew	0	4 (3%)
Unaffiliated	0	12 (10%)

¹ All tables reflect percentages based on the number of responses received.

Length of Residence

The pioneers as a group were newer to the neighborhood than their white neighbors. Sixty-three percent (63%) had lived in the neighborhood for less than 3 years compared to 43% of the whites. Only 6% had been in the neighborhood over 10 years, while 25% of their neighbors had been there for at least that long. This shows that not all neighborhoods receiving their first Negro neighbors were newly developed areas, but that some were already well established neighborhoods.

TABLE #5

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE				
	Pioneers		Whites	
Less Than 1 Yr.	4	11%	17	14%
1 - 2 Years	19	52%	35	29%
3 - 5 Years	5	14%	18	15%
6 - 10 Years	6	17%	21	17%
More Than 10 Years	2	6%	31	25%
Unknown	--	--	1	--
TOTAL	36	100%	123	100%

Reasons for Moving to Neighborhood

The reasons given by the pioneers for moving to the neighborhood were much the same as the reasons given by their white neighbors. The principal reasons included those that were related to the physical attraction of the neighborhood's surroundings, the choice of their particular home, good schools, nearness to place of employment and other particular inducements. No pioneer said that he had moved for reasons of, or as an experiment in, integrated living, although one white neighbor reported that he had moved because there were no Negroes in the neighborhood.

TABLE #6

CHOICE OF NEIGHBORHOOD

	PIONEERS	WHITES
Liked House	15	44
Liked Area	12	24
Good Schools	12	24
Availability of Land or Home for Sale	11	5
Close to Work	6	24
Shopping Areas or Churches	5	4
Transportation Facilities	4	5
Price	4	9
Rural or Suburban Environment	3	29
Surroundings for Children	1	9
Tax Climate	1	1
Open Space	1	6
Dead End Street	1	1
Less Traffic	1	3
Quiet Relaxed Atmosphere	1	5
Friends or Relatives in Area	1	7
Close to Hospital	1	0
Betterment of Family	1	0
Close to City	0	12
Class of People	0	3
Grew Up in Area	0	11
Clean	0	1
Allowed Pe's	0	1
No Negroes	0	1

We found that only 10 of the 36 pioneers had moved to their present neighborhoods from areas which they considered to have been "all Negro." Thirteen said that they had previously lived in "all-white" neighborhoods, while another 13 described their previous neighborhood as "interracial."

Socio-Economic Status

As in the other studies previously mentioned which were made in city areas, the pioneers in this study were found as a whole to surpass their white neighbors in terms of educational achievement, vocational success and income.

One indication of this greater status was reflected by the value of the homes in which they were living. This figure was determined by asking each family to state the market value of their home. The field representatives did not indicate that there were any obvious discrepancies between the responses received and their own impressions about the values if this was indeed the case. In most instances, the homes of the pioneers were better than those of their neighbors. In fact the Negroes owned homes in the top scale (over \$30,000) at a rate twice that of the whites; 62% of the pioneer homes were above \$20,000 compared to 39% of the whites. Heim's Pittsburgh study overall showed somewhat lower home values (52% Negro and 30% white over \$20,000) which can in part be attributed to the differences in real estate values between 1959 and 1966, but it is important to note that the percentage difference remained about the same.

TABLE #7

MARKET VALUE OF HOMES				
VALUE	No. Pioneers	%	No. Whites	%
Above 30,000	8	26%	13	13%
20,000 - 30,000	11	36%	27	26%
17,000 - 19,000	8	26%	29	28%
14,000 - 16,000	2	6%	16	15%
11,000 - 13,000	1	3%	13	13%
8,000 - 10,000	-	-	4	4%
Under 8,000	1	3%	1	1%
*TOTAL	31	100%	103	100%

*Does not include those who were renting their homes or apartments.

Education

The pioneers' educational achievement far surpassed that of their white neighbors. Of those with a college degree or

better, 56% of the Negro husbands and wives were included. For the whites, only 23% were at least college graduates. The majority of whites (45%) were high school graduates. Twenty-four percent of the pioneers had advanced degrees beyond college whereas only 4% of their neighbors had advanced degrees. Heim's study showed that 54% of the Negroes interviewed had completed college compared to a 25% rate for the whites interviewed.

TABLE #3

EDUCATION ATTAINED											
EDUCATION ATTAINED	Pioneers						Whites				
	Men	%	Women	%	Total	Total %	Men	%	Women	%	Total
Elementary school	2	6%	0	-	2	3%	4	3%	3	3%	7
Completed High school	2	6%	3	9%	5	8%	20	17%	13	11%	33
Completed High School	1	3%	8	25%	9	14%	38	33%	68	56%	106
Attended College	7	22%	5	16%	12	19%	19	16%	17	14%	36
College degree	5	16%	8	25%	13	20%	18	15%	16	13%	34
Advanced study	5	16%	3	9%	8	12%	10	9%	3	3%	13
Advanced degree	10	31%	5	16%	15	24%	8	7%	1	-	9
TOTAL	32	100%	32	100%	64	100%	117	100%	121	100%	238

Income

In general, the income of the pioneers was higher than that of their neighbors. Families with incomes over \$9,000 included 76% of the pioneers and 39% of the whites. Only 3% of the Negroes had incomes less than \$4,000 while 6% of the whites were in this range. Although the ages of the families were not recorded, it appeared that the pioneer families were somewhat younger and that a number of the white neighbors with incomes under \$4,000 represented older persons who were retired and living on pensions. Heim found 52% of the Negro families, and 16% of the whites to have incomes of \$9,000 or more. Again, the overall increase in the cost-of-living and adjusted wage scales must be taken into account. None of the Negroes in Heim's study and 25% of the whites had incomes of less than \$4,000.

TABLE #9

INCOME BY FAMILY

	Pioneers		Whites	
	Number	%	Number	%
Under \$4,000	1	3%	7	6%
\$4,000 - \$6,000	1	3%	19	16%
\$6,000 - \$9,000	7	20%	46	39%
\$9,000 - \$12,000	11	30%	23	19%
Over \$12,000	16	44%	24	20%
TOTAL	36	100%	119	100%

OCCUPATIONNumber of Job Holders Per Family and Occupation

The Negroes were somewhat more likely to have more than 1 job holder per family (36%) compared to 28% for the whites. These represented families where both the husband and wife were regularly employed.

TABLE #10

JOB HOLDERS PER FAMILY

NO. OF JOBHOLDERS	Pioneer	%	White	%
0	2	6%	13	11%
1	21	58%	83	72%
2	12	33%	19	15%
3	1	3%	2	2%
4	0	-	0	-
More than 4	0	-	0	-
TOTAL	36	100%	122	100%

For those pioneers whose occupations were given, it was found that 30 (60%) were engaged in professional occupations. These included among others: 5 physicians, 5 teachers, 2 college professors, a personnel director, a social worker and a human relations representative. Thirty of the whites,

representing 24% of all whites whose occupations were known, were included in the professional category. One of the pioneers received public assistance, and 16 of the whites were retired.

TABLE #11

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

	No. Pioneers	%	No. Whites	%
*Professional	30	68%	30	24%
*Service Occupation	2	4½%	10	8%
*Managerial & Proprietary	2	4½%	16	13%
*Clerical	4	9%	28	22%
*Skilled	3	7%	16	13%
*Semi-skilled	3	7%	20	16%
*Unskilled	0	-	6	4%
TOTAL	44	100%	126	100%

*Occupational Classification titles obtained from Dictionary of Occupational Titles, Volume 1, Definitions of Titles, Second Edition, published by U.S. Department of Labor

EASE OF ENTRY

Method of Purchase

There was little difference between the two groups in the way homes were secured. The whites bought a slightly greater percentage of their homes through realtors than the pioneers, and they bought newly built homes at a higher rate than the Negroes. Almost twice the percentage of pioneers as whites purchased their homes from private sellers.

In 10 cases the pioneers utilized the services of established human relations groups, principally local fair housing groups. The services provided included accompanying the pioneers to the purchase negotiators, talking to neighbors to prepare them for the "move-in", providing lists of available housing, and helping to provide moral support to the family when necessary. Only one purchase was the direct result of a complaint to the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission.

TABLE #12

METHOD OF SECURING HOME

METHOD	Pioneer		White	
	*No.	%	*No.	%
Through Realtor	13	40%	50	47%
Through Friends	3	9%	3	3%
Private Seller	8	24%	14	13%
Built	8	24%	34	32%
Other	1	3%	5	5%
TOTAL	33	100%	106	100%

*Excludes Rentors

The pioneers reported many problems in finding and securing the home of their choice, although over half (53%) reported that they had not been turned down by any sellers. This corresponds to the 52% figure obtained by Heim. Five of the pioneers said that they were turned down by 1-2 sellers, and five reported they were turned down by 3-10 sellers, four by 11-20 sellers, and one family told of refusals to sell in more than 20 separate contacts. This situation was related as follows:

"Dr. and Mrs. A stated that they made contact for approximately 75 homes without success.

"At this point they decided to build a home and found a hillside lot in a wooded area in a suburban area which was owned by a white physician who readily agreed to sell him the lot provided that he contact the nearby neighbors and learn if they had any objection. This was done by Dr. and Mrs. A and everyone stated that they would be pleased to have them as neighbors, following which they purchased the lot, had it surveyed, hired a contractor who proceeded toward construction of the foundation and basement.

"At this point Dr. and Mrs. A received a letter from the Borough Council stating that they could not build a home on the lot for the reason that the land was going to be condemned and will be utilized for a playground. They explained that they knew that the Borough would not build a playground on a hillside in a wooded area, therefore hired a lawyer. The judge refused to hear the case until the Chairman of his political party advised him that he had better hear the case.

"Following the hearing, the judge refused to render a decision, stating that he would have the case set for another hearing before a three judge panel, which would require several

months. Because of the time element and finances involved, the A's dropped the case. Following this episode, the A's found and looked at the house they presently live in and liked it. Dr. A then went to the bank, where he was well known, which held a foreclosure on the property, stating that he wanted to purchase same. He was told by the bank official that they could not sell the house to a Negro and suggested that he look for a small farm. Dr. A replied that he was not a farmer, therefore, was not looking for a farm. They also informed Dr. A that the price for the house was \$15,000.

"Dr. A then contacted a white friend who agreed to purchase the house for him and went to the bank and was told by the same bank official that the price was \$9,000. Dr. A then gave to this friend the full amount in cash and the friend and his wife purchased the house and immediately transferred it to Dr. and Mrs. A."

Another situation embodied most of the usual tactics of some realtors in refusing to sell homes to Negroes and is the kind which often needs to be settled through the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission. The problems were related as follows:

"The difficulty as recorded by the complainants, was not in finding the house but in buying it: (1) "When we visited the sample no one offered to help." (2) "When we talked to the salesman he asked for a deposit that was much larger than the required deposit." (3) "When we agreed to the larger deposit, the salesman tried to put us in another section of the development - the section to be developed last." (5) "There was a delay in starting construction."

"We filed a complaint with the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission against the agent and a complaint with the Federal Housing Administration against the builder. Even so, the agent and builder were able to use all sorts of delaying tactics. We had to fight every step of the way. It took us a year and a half to get our house."

Treatment Upon Arrival

Both the pioneers and their white neighbors, in the majority of instances, remembered their arrival in the neighborhood generally as a good experience. Sixty-seven percent (67%) of the Negroes and 81% of the whites chose the term "generally friendly" to describe their treatment upon arrival. Twice the number of pioneers (25%) than whites (12%) said that the neighborhood treated them indifferently when they arrived, and 8% of the pioneers indicated that the treatment they received was unfriendly. None of the whites saw the neighborhood as hostile or unfriendly to them when they arrived.

When the whites were asked how the pioneers were treated

upon arrival, only 40% (16%) of the whites were friendly. Twenty-five percent (10%) of the whites said that they themselves answered this question said that the type of treatment was indifferent while the almost equal number (23%) said they did not know how the pioneer family was treated. This, of course, included those who moved in after the pioneer family and 9% of the whites of blocks away who might not have known the difference between the pioneers' immediate block.

TABLE #13

TREATMENT UPON ARRIVAL

	Pioneer No.	Pioneer %	White No.	White %	About Pioneer No.	About Pioneer %
Generally Friendly	24	67%	106	89%	50	45%
Indifferent	9	25%	19	16%	28	25%
Unfriendly	3	8%	0	0%	4	4%
Don't know					29	26%
TOTAL	36	100%	121	100%	111	100%

The reports were varied among the pioneers and were of both extremes. One woman said: "Most of the neighbors - particularly the women - either gave us dirty looks or completely ignored us. A few of the housewives were friendly at first, but, apparently pressure was put on them by the other neighbors. At first many of the men spoke to us and acted friendly towards our children. But this soon stopped. Evidently the wives got to the husbands." On the other hand, one pioneer reported this situation: "The many visitors seemed to be very sincere in welcoming us to the community and offering their services. The fact is that they overdid it. Our freedom was greatly restricted." For many, the following pattern existed. "There was no opposition to our building our home here or when we moved into our new home. The neighbors were generally friendly and many started by waving their hands, then holding a point to stop in friendly conversation. This developed into a friendly neighborliness. Also, several neighbors called to give their welcome to us to the neighborhood."

Also, the whites when reporting their own entry into the neighborhood did not always acknowledge that they were welcomed profusely. One Italian family said that for the first 3 months, "it was like living in a ghost town" as no one spoke to them. But for the most part, the whites described their own reception as one in which most people spoke to them.

introduced themselves and slowly developed friendships within the neighborhood.

Attempts to Discourage

None of the pioneers reported that attempts were made to discourage them from moving into the neighborhood. In comparison, only 16 of the whites admitted knowledge of any attempt to prevent the Negro family from moving in--and only 3 of these were in the same neighborhood group as the pioneers reporting discouragement. Eight of the pioneers attributed the discouragement to individuals and only one said that it had come from an organized group. This was a situation in which a neighborhood group circulated a petition to pressure the owner not to sell, but no problems were encountered at the time of the move-in.

Individuals in other neighborhoods were reported by the pioneers and whites to have: threatened an individual seller; questioned the proprietor of a large corporation selling a home to a Negro; sent anonymous letters to the pioneers; made anonymous threatening telephone calls; tried to organize neighbors against the new family. In one case the local magistrate tried to talk the family out of their planned move. In one situation a white reported that the local Civic Association, the Borough, and the community swimming club all tried to discourage the family in their plans to move to their new neighborhood.

TABLE #14

	Received Discouragement		Knowledge of Attempts to Discourage Pioneers	
	Pioneers		White	
	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	9	25%	16	15%
No	27	75%	57	54%
Don't know	33	31%
TOTAL	36	100%	106	100%

Did Anyone Welcome

Almost all (94%) of the pioneers reported that at least one individual made a personal effort to welcome them to the neighborhood. This is in sharp contrast to their white neighbors of whom only 55% reported a welcome when they moved in.

themselves. Only 30% of the whites acknowledged that they welcomed the pioneer family. Of the 33 who said that someone had welcomed the pioneer family, 20% said that someone lived across the street, and 6% said that someone lived next door.

Over half of the pioneers reported that they had been welcomed by an organized group within the neighborhood. In contrast, less than 1/3 of the whites said they had been welcomed by an organized group.

TABLE 4.1

Individual Welcomed to Neighborhood					Anyone Welcomed Pioneer Family		
	Pioneer No.	%	White No.	%		No.	%
Yes	34	94%	65	55%	Yes	53	88%
No	2	6%	55	45%	No	9	8%
					Don't know	69	51%
TOTAL	36	100%	121	100%	TOTAL	111	100%
Organized Group Welcomed							
Yes	21	58%	38	31%			
No	15	42%	83	69%			
TOTAL	36	100%	121	100%			

NEIGHBORHOOD RELATIONSHIPS

Neighborhood Visiting Patterns

There was a significant difference between the pioneers and the white neighbors in their perception of the visiting pattern within the neighborhood. Both groups were asked if this was a neighborhood in which people visited each other frequently. Forty one percent (41%) of the whites answered this question affirmatively as compared to only 11% of the pioneers.

The difference in response to the neighborhood visiting patterns is positively related to the difference in response to the inquiry about the nature of the existing visiting pattern. For the pioneer sample, 58% said that they had visited neighbors in their homes. 70% of the whites said that they visited neighbors in their homes. Of the whites who said that they visited neighbors, 39% visit "regularly" and "occasionally" and the rate was 19%. The majority of pioneers (57%) said that they visited "occasionally."

	Visit Negro		Visit White		Visit Negro	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Visit	21	50%	37	75%	36	33%
Do not	15	42%	29	25%	73	67%
Total	36	100%	121	100%	109	100%
Frequency	1	5%	10	11%	1	3%
Regularly	3	14%	26	28%	10	28%
Occasionally	12	57%	23	28%	7	19%
Occasionally or never	3	14%	17	19%	9	25%
Occasionally or never	1	5%	13	15%	9	25%
Do not	1	5%				
Total	29	100%	99	100%	36	100%

A somewhat different picture is given when the groups were asked if they were the recipients of the visits. Seventy-two percent (72%) of the Negro group reported that neighbors visit them, while 85% of the white group reported that they were visited. The frequency of visits was similar for both groups when compared to the question about visiting neighbors. The only significant difference was the frequency with which the whites reported they visited the Negroes. In visits to the Negro family only 33% of the whites did this but 39% of these people visited frequently or regularly. Forty-two percent (42%) of the Negroes visited their white neighbors but only 16% did it frequently or regularly.

Development of Friendships

Each of the groups interviewed was asked if he had developed cross-race friendships with his neighbors. Both groups answered affirmatively the same question. 57% said yes -- 43% said no.

TABLE 4

Development of Cross-Race Friendships

	Negro		White	
	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	20	57%	69	57%
No	15	43%	53	43%
Total	35	100%	122	100%

The Children

Of the 35 negroes who responded to the inquiry about children, 21 had at least one child under 21 still at home. The white group had a somewhat different picture as only 73 of the 115 who answered this question had children at home. This, again, is a reflection of the age difference between the two groups. The 40 white families who were listed as having no children included those who were retired, and many older couples where children have grown and no longer live at home.

Twenty-seven of the 21 negroes with children reported that there were other children of the same age in the neighborhood. All of this group said that their children played with the other children. All reported that their children both go to the neighborhood children's home and that they bring other children into their home. They reported that visits were exchanged regularly or frequently in 12 instances.

In one of the 21 negro families where the pioneer family had a 1 year old child who obviously did not visit with other children, although other neighborhood children did come to see her.

TABLE 4
CROSS-CLASSIFICATION

NO. OF CHILDREN	WHITE CHILDREN	PERCENT WHITE CHILDREN	BLACK CHILDREN	PERCENT BLACK CHILDREN
0	0	13%	0	0%
1	7	20%	0	0%
2	10	29%	2	6%
3	5	14%	1	3%
4	5	14%	7	21%
5	0	0%	3	9%
More than 5	2	6%	4	12%
TOTAL	35	100%	15	100%
(If over 21 or not at all not counted)			B. A. 100%	

Friendships

Each pioneer interviewed was asked about his children's "best friends" to determine the extent of segregation among the children, and whether they continued to play upon children in their old neighborhood for their close friendships. There were 47 separate responses concerning whether the best friends of their children were: white, this neighborhood, white, another neighborhood; or, Negro, another neighborhood. Some families with more than one child were asked for more than one category. The responses were as follows:

- White, this neighborhood - 20
- White, another neighborhood - 11
- Negro, another neighborhood - 16

We can see then that there was still a tendency for many of the children to have their primary associations with other Negroes who did not live in their neighborhood. Although some reported close friendships with white children in their old neighborhood than either of the other choices. But, as a whole, these were taken as many as possible, and the "best friends" were white rather than Negro. The families had children there that were in the same age group.

Friendships in the neighborhood

Only six of the Negro families reported that they had been any inside to let in their children to play with white

the children of the pioneer families were primarily due to racial differences. These children consisted principally of pioneer children who had been interviewed reported incidents of racial discrimination against the children of the pioneer families.

When the pioneer families reported that their children had had incidents of racial discrimination in the neighborhood, there were some incidents involving the children for walking on the sidewalk and some involving the children. In one situation, the children of the pioneer families were playing musical instruments and making loud noises. They decided to have a party one day and invited about 25 neighborhood friends. Three times at night, the children of the pioneer families were partying. They packed the house and started into the street causing a minor traffic jam. A white woman called the police complaining of a wild party. The police decided to go to many of the town's problems and the police decided to go. When the police arrived, they told the pioneer families that if they had known the party was at this house, they would have been able to answer the call. The police then decided to direct traffic. It was reported that the party continued until about 11:00 p.m. One of the white women commented that it was the most orderly party of that kind they had ever seen in the neighborhood.

Only 2 white children reported during their interview that they were aware of incidents being done by any of the pioneer children and white adults in the neighborhood.

Summary

The reports made by the pioneer children varied in racial discrimination, not being less than by negro. In several instances, the pioneer children were the only negro in the neighborhood.

Table 1

Summary of racial composition

	White	Black	50% Negro
White	2	4	0
Black	2	6	0
White	1	5	0

Twenty-seven of the pioneers would unreservedly advise other Negroes to move to all-white neighborhoods. This compared to only 33 (30%) of the whites who would unreservedly advise Negroes to move to a white neighborhood.

Pennsylvania's Fair Housing Law

Both groups were asked their opinion about Pennsylvania's Fair Housing Law. Only 1 pioneer as compared with 54 whites (almost $\frac{1}{2}$) did not know anything about the law. Five pioneers and 11 whites stated that they had "no opinion" and it is probable that many of those also did not know anything about the Fair Housing Law in Pennsylvania. Twenty-one whites indicated that they felt the law was "too strong"--none of the pioneers indicated this belief. Instead, 19 either thought it was "not strong enough" or "weak." Only 5 whites said that they felt the law was not strong enough.

TABLE #27

Do You Think Pa's Fair Housing Law Is:	PIONEERS		WHITES	
Too Strong	0	0%	21	17%
Strong Enough	11	31%	32	26%
Not Strong Enough	13	36%	5	4%
Weak	6	17%	0	-
No Opinion	5	14%	11	9%
Not Familiar With Law	1	2%	54	44%
TOTAL	36	100%	123	100%

The White Neighbors

All of the white neighbors except 17 (14%) knew that there was a Negro family living in their neighborhood. These were all persons who lived from 3 to 4 blocks away--except for one family who had just moved into an apartment building two days prior to their interview and had not yet learned anything about their neighbors. Of the remaining 106 families, 39 had moved into the neighborhood after the Negro family. When this group was asked if the presence of the Negroes in the neighborhood had concerned them, 1/3 said that they had been concerned. Their concern seemed to be primarily about the effect on their

property values. Only one person (of middle-European ancestry whose parents were immigrants) was extremely concerned. This man said that he absolutely would not associate with Negroes and that since the family has begun to go to the community swimming pool, he is building his own pool. Thirty-four of these thirty-nine said that they knew the Negro family lived in the neighborhood when they moved and, one-half (17) of those had moved into a home next door to the pioneers.

Sixty-seven families were living in their neighborhood prior to the pioneers. Of these, 29 said that they were concerned about the Negro family moving to their neighborhood. Generally, the concern expressed was fear of a decline in property values, that other Negroes would move into the neighborhood and that "other" whites in the neighborhood might react violently. In one case a rumor had been started (attributed to the rental agent) that the pioneers had a retarded son who became violent at times.

The white neighbors were found more likely to report that their neighbors were concerned. Over half of the whites (58) reported concern by their neighbors. Only seven said that anyone had moved out of the neighborhood due to the presence of the Negro family, and only 17 reported that there had been any talk in the neighborhood about moving out. On the other hand, they were less likely to state that any of their neighbors were pleased about the Negroes moving into the neighborhood. Fifty-eight said that they didn't know if any of the neighbors were pleased, and 41 said that none of their neighbors were pleased. Seven reported that a few of the neighbors were pleased.

Of the 104 white neighbors who stated the degree of their own feeling toward the pioneer family, none said that they actually disliked the Negro family. The majority either "liked" the family (50) or "liked them very much" (17). Thirty-seven said that they were "indifferent" to them.

More white neighbors (57) said that they had never known a Negro on a personal basis than reported that they had known a Negro (50). Ten of the 17 persons who said they liked the pioneers "very much" were included in the group who said they had never before known a Negro on a personal basis. Twenty-six of the 50 whites who said they "liked" the pioneers also reported never having a personal acquaintance with a Negro.

Conclusions

Many of the 36 Negro pioneer families who have moved into all-white neighborhoods in suburban and rural areas of Pennsylvania did so with anxieties. Many experienced some difficulty

in purchasing their present home. Anxieties were also experienced by the white neighbors, many of whom had never known a Negro, and were concerned lest their neighborhood erupt in the kind of tension situation which had arisen in other areas. They feared that property values would go down, that many other Negroes would move in, and that the new family would not be acceptable. For the most part, however, the pioneer families came with a higher education and a higher income than their white neighbors. Most were professional people--a doctor, a teacher, a social worker. They came for many of the same reasons as the whites--a nice house in a good area with good schools for their children, and most found that they received a generally friendly treatment upon arrival.

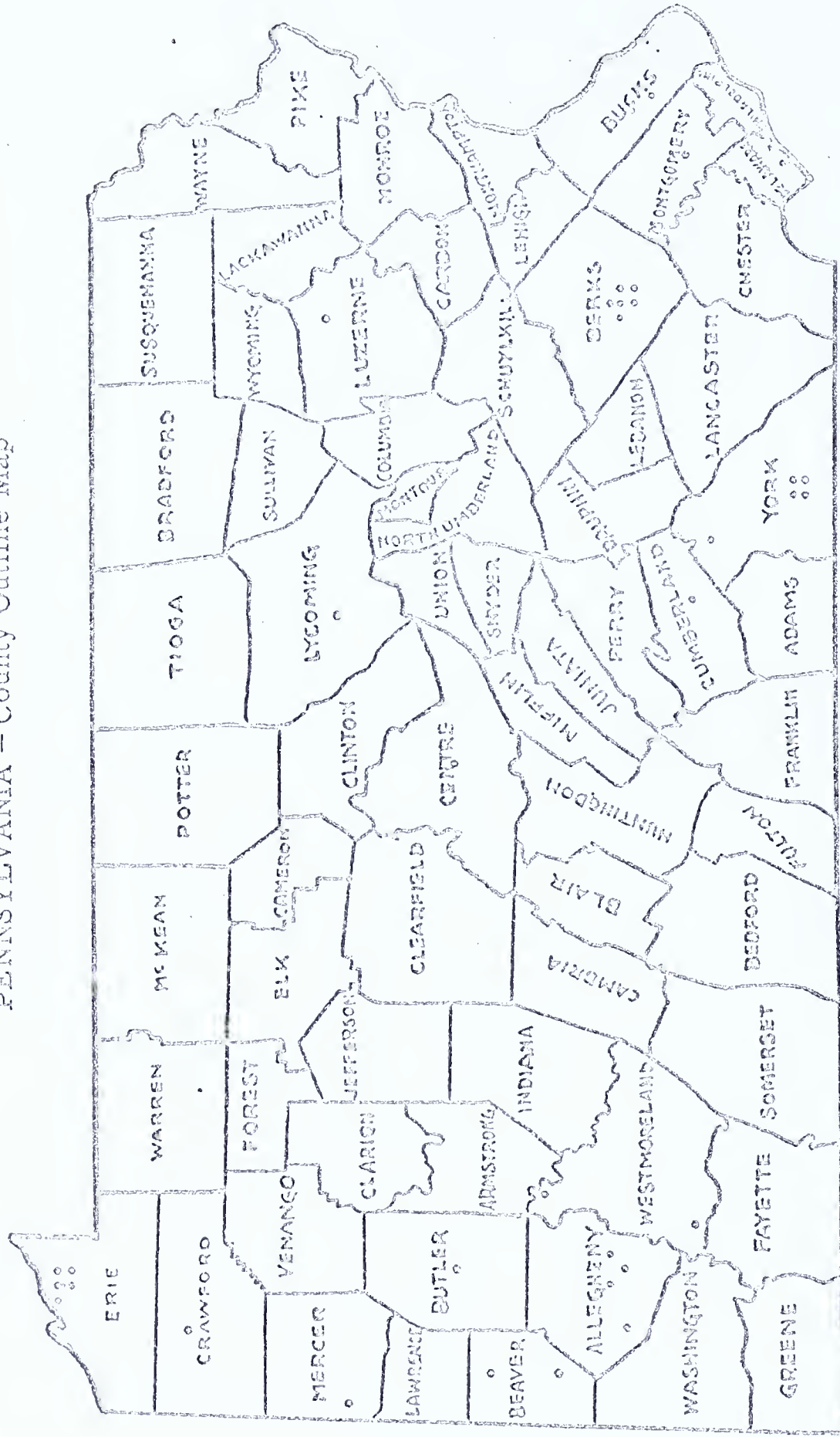
In some neighborhoods, there was uneasiness at the beginning--in some the local fair housing groups, the Human Relations Commission, or other groups talked to people to provide reassurance about the new family. As time passed most of the pioneers began to feel that the neighborhood was really a friendly place to live. The neighbors talked to them, they were invited to neighborhood functions, they developed friendships and decided that there was nothing they were missing by living in a white neighborhood. The neighbors soon saw that the Negro family was not at all what they had expected and many began to question their old attitudes and beliefs and for the most part felt comfortable in telling the interviewer that they "liked" their Negro neighbor. This is what integration is all about.

There may continue to be Folcroft and Kensingtons in Pennsylvania neighborhoods where the people themselves are so at war with themselves because of their own feelings of inferiority that they will never be able to tolerate anyone who is different, but this study has shown that violence and expressed hatred are the atypical reactions. For every problem neighborhood, there are many others which, given the chance, will react positively to new neighbors and individuals who are exercising their freedom and legal right in Pennsylvania to live where they please. The basic attitudes and opinions of pioneers and their white neighbors seem to be very similar, whether in urban, suburban, or rural areas.

It is hoped that this study will be helpful to those families in these neighborhoods who will have the opportunity to provide a pleasant reception and surroundings for a Negro family should they choose to live near them. And for those who may be pioneers in the future some of the things to expect as their white neighbors see them moving into the mainstream of community life have been indicated. It can be said, however, that the experiences of both the pioneers and the white neighbors in this study have proved, for the most part, to be positive.

LOCATION OF PIONEER FAMILIES

PENNSYLVANIA - County Outline Map



Allegheny County	----	4	Delaware County	----	2
Beaver County	-----	2	Erie County	-----	5
Berks County	-----	6	Luzerne County	-----	1
Bucks County	-----	2	Lycoming County	-----	1
Butler County	-----	1	Mercer County	-----	1
Centre County	-----	1	Montgomery County	----	1
Crawford County	-----	1	Westmoreland County	----	2
Cumberland County	-----	1	York County	-----	5

WHITE NEIGHBOR INTERVIEW FORMAT

(Suggested Introduction)

"The Department of Labor and Industry is conducting a State-wide survey of neighborhood relations. We are requesting an opportunity to ask you several questions about your neighborhood. All of the information you give us is confidential." Interviewer should show L & I identification card.

(To be completed by the interviewer)

Individual Interviewed:

_____ Male _____ Female

_____ Both

Proximity to Negro family: _____ Address _____
 _____ next door _____ doors away
 _____ across street _____ blocks away

Type of house: _____ single dwelling _____ semi-attached _____ row

Date of interview: _____ Interviewer: _____

Describe the physical aspects of the neighborhood: _____

*(To be answered on a separate sheet)

Entry, Characteristics,
 and Relationships of
 the Neighborhood

1. How long have you lived in this neighborhood? _____

Are you renting or buying your home? _____

2. What was your previous address? _____

Were you renting or buying there? _____

3. Why did you choose this neighborhood for your home? (List reasons):

4. How did you secure your home?

_____ through a realtor
_____ through friends
_____ through a private transaction with a seller
_____ built home
_____ other

If other, explain _____

5. When you first moved here, did any of your neighbors call on you to welcome you to the neighborhood? _____ yes

_____ no

*(5a). If yes, explain in detail. Who? When? How? etc.

6. Did any organized group send a representative to talk with you, or to invite you to join their group? _____ yes

_____ no

*(6a). If yes, list and explain nature of contacts.

(6b). If yes, did you subsequently join any of these groups? _____ yes

_____ no

If yes, list: _____

7. Which would best describe your treatment upon arrival in this neighborhood? _____ generally friendly

_____ indifferent

_____ unfriendly

*(7). Elaborate

8. Have you experienced hostility from any of your neighbors or shopkeepers? _____ yes

_____ no

*(8a). If yes, explain how and who.

9. Is this a neighborhood in which neighbors visit each other frequently?

(Once a week or more) _____ yes

_____ no

(9a). Do you visit your neighbors in their homes? _____ yes

_____ no

(9b). If yes, how often? _____ regularly (daily)

_____ frequently (once a week or more)

_____ occasionally (once a month or more)

_____ once a month or less

_____ only once or twice

(9c). Do your neighbors visit you in your home? _____ yes

_____ no

(9d). If yes, how often? _____ regularly
_____ frequently
_____ occasionally
_____ once a month or less
_____ only once or twice

10. Have you (or your husband/wife) developed any close friendships in the neighborhood? _____ yes
_____ no

*(10a). If yes, determine to what extent.

*11. What other neighborhood interactions have you experienced such as frequent conversations, invitations to parties, dinner invitations, etc.

12. At the present time, do you feel that there has been any change in your acceptance in the neighborhood? _____ much
_____ slight
_____ none
_____ don't know

13. To what degree do you feel that you have been accepted in this neighborhood? _____ completely
_____ with reservation
_____ not accepted

The Negro Family

14. What kinds of people live in your neighborhood? Probe. (Interviewer may ask if there are any other kinds to attempt to elicit a response that there is a Negro family in the neighborhood.) If Negroes are not mentioned, ask: Are there any Negro families living in this neighborhood? _____ yes
_____ no

If yes, ask series of questions beginning at #15.

*If no, or don't know, and respondent does not live immediately adjacent to a Negro family, ask: What do you think would happen if a Negro family were to move to this neighborhood? Then, skip to question #1 in the ATTITUDES section, omitting questions #2, #3, and #10.

If no, or don't know, and the respondent does live adjacent to the Negro family, say: We have interviewed the _____ family who live _____. They said that they would not mind if we talked to their neighbors about them. Remember, as we said, everything you tell us is strictly confidential. If they agree, go on to question #15.

15. When did the _____ family move here? _____

*(15a). If before the white family, ask: Did you know they lived here before you moved? _____ yes
_____ no

(15b). Did their presence concern you? _____ yes
_____ no

*(15c.) If yes, ask: In what way?

*(15d.) If after, ask: How did you learn that they were moving into the neighborhood?

*(15e.) Did this concern you? ☐ yes ☐ no If yes, in what way?

16. When they moved, do you know if any of the neighbors were concerned about this? ☐ yes ☐ no ☐ don't know

*(16a.) If yes, ask: Would you tell me about this?

17. Did any person or group to your knowledge attempt to discourage them from moving in? ☐ yes ☐ no ☐ don't know

*(17a.) If yes, what forms did this take? Who did it?

18. Did anyone move out because of the Negro family moving here? ☐ yes ☐ no

If yes, how many? _____

Was there any talk of moving away? ☐ yes ☐ no ☐ don't know

19. What was the treatment given to the family when they moved here? ☐ unfriendly ☐ generally friendly ☐ indifferent ☐ don't know

20. Were any neighbors pleased because a Negro family moved into the neighborhood? ☐ none ☐ a few ☐ many ☐ don't know

21. Did anyone visit them to welcome them to the neighborhood? ☐ yes ☐ no ☐ don't know

(21a.) If yes, who, or what organization representatives? List

22. Which of the following would best describe how you feel about the family: ☐ like very much
☐ like
☐ indifferent
☐ dislike
☐ strongly dislike

23. Have you ever visited them in their home? ☐ yes
☐ no

24. If yes, how often? ☐ regularly
☐ frequently
☐ occasionally
☐ once a month or less
☐ only once or twice

25. Have you ever known a Negro on a personal basis? ☐ yes
☐ no

*If yes, describe relationship.

children

26. Do you have any children? ☐ yes Number. ☐ Male ☐ Female ☐
☐ no age:

27. Do your children play with the Negro children? ☐ yes
☐ no

(Determine which children, if yes.) If yes, how often?
☐ regularly
☐ frequently
☐ occasionally
☐ once a month
☐ only once or twice

28. Do your children go into their home? ☐ yes
☐ no

If yes, how often? ☐ regularly
☐ frequently
☐ occasionally
☐ once a month
☐ only once or twice

29. Do your children bring the _____ children into your home?
☐ yes
☐ no

If yes, how often? ☐ regularly
☐ frequently
☐ occasionally
☐ once a month or less
☐ only once or twice

30. Have there been any incidents involving problems between the _____ children and other children in the neighborhood which you believe was because of the difference in race? _____yes
_____no
_____don't know

*(30a.) If yes, what forms did this take, and what did the parents do about it?

31. Have there been any problems or incidents involving the _____ children and adults in the neighborhood? _____yes
_____no
_____don't know

*If yes, explain the incidents in detail, and what the parents did about it, if anything.

Attitudes

32. Are interracial contacts desirable for: _____children
_____teenagers
_____adults

(Omit if question #14 answered no.)

33. The acceptance of the Negro family in the neighborhood was: _____complete
_____reserved
_____not accepted
_____don't know

(Omit if question #14 answered no.)

34. How much improvement has there been in their acceptance? _____much
_____slight
_____none
_____don't know

35. Do you think there is anything Negroes miss when they move into an all-white neighborhood? _____yes
_____no

*If yes, what?

36. Would you like to see other Negro families move into your neighborhood? _____yes
_____no

- (36a.) If yes, how many? _____1 or 2
_____3 - 10 *Explain any reservations.
_____no set number

37. Would you advise a Negro family to move into an all-white neighborhood? _____yes
_____no

38. What do you imagine are the reasons for a Negro family to move into a neighborhood like this?

39. Do you think Pennsylvania's Fair Housing Law is:

- ☐ too strong
- ☐ strong enough
- ☐ not strong enough
- ☐ weak
- ☐ no opinion
- ☐ don't know about law

*(39a.) What changes would you recommend in Pennsylvania's Law?
(Omit if answer to question #14 was no)

40. How do you think the presence of a Negro family in the neighborhood has affected property values?

- ☐ has lowered
- ☐ has increased
- ☐ has not affected
- ☐ don't know

Personal
Data

41. No. of job holders in family. _____

42. Occupations: _____
(Include those not currently employed)

43. Total income bracket: ☐ under 4,000
☐ 4,000-6,000
☐ 6,000-9,000
☐ 9,000-12,000
☐ 12,000+

44. Education attained (husband and wife:)

- ☐ grammar school
- ☐ completed Jr. High school
- ☐ completed high school
- ☐ attended college
- ☐ graduated from college
- ☐ have also some advanced study
- ☐ have an advanced degree

45. Value (market) of home: ☐ Above 30,000
☐ 20-30,000
☐ 17-19,000
☐ 14-16,000
☐ 11-15,000
☐ 8-10,000
☐ Under 8,000

46. Organizations belonging to and their location:
(Husband and wife)

(46a.) Are you (or your husband/wife) an officer in any of these organizations? yes
 no

If yes, list offices held: _____

*47. To what extent do you participate in the activities of these organizations?

48. If you attend church, what church, and where located?

PIONEER FAMILY INTERVIEW FORMAT

* (To be answered on a separate sheet)

(Suggested Introduction) "Hello. I'm _____,
from the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission
on the neighborhood project that Mr. _____
called you about (or, wrote you about.) We're
glad that you have agreed to cooperate in our
study. We want to make clear that all the
information that you give us is completely
confidential."

Securing
home

1. How long have you lived in this neighborhood? _____.

Are you renting or buying your home? _____.

2. What was your previous address? _____.

Were you renting or buying there? _____.

(2a.) Was that neighborhood: ____ all white (90%+); ____ interracial;
____ all Negro (90%+)

3. Why did you choose this neighborhood for your home? (List reasons):

4. Did you have difficulty finding a home?

great difficulty _____
some difficulty _____
little difficulty _____
no difficulty _____

*(4a). (If great, some, or little difficulty, ask:) What problems did you
experience which may have been related to your race?

(4b). Were you turned down by any sellers: _____ yes
_____ no how many _____?

*(4c). (If yes, ask:) Please explain in detail the circumstances of
these refusals.

5. How did you secure your home? ☐ through a realtor
☐ through friends
☐ through a private transaction with a seller
☐ built home
☐ other
If other, explain: _____.

6. In your search for housing and in establishing yourself in this neighborhood, did you have any contact with agencies other than PHRC (such as fair housing groups, NAACP, Urban League, etc.)
☐ yes
☐ no

(If yes, list:) _____

*(6a). (If yes, ask:) What was the nature of the service they provided?

Initial
Acceptance

7. While you were planning to move (or during your move), were you aware of any attempt to discourage you from moving in? ☐ yes
☐ no

(7a). (If yes, ask:) Was this done by: individuals _____.
an organized
group _____.

*(7b). (If yes, ask:) What incidents occurred?

8. When you first moved here, did any of your neighbors call on you to welcome you to the neighborhood? ☐ yes
☐ no

*(8a). (If yes, explain in detail): Who? When? How? etc.

9. Did any organized group send a representative to talk with you, or to invite you to join their group? ☐ yes
☐ no

*(9a). (If yes, list and explain nature of contacts):

(9b). (If yes, did you subsequently join any of these groups? ☐ yes
☐ no

If yes, list: _____

10. Which would best describe your treatment upon arrival?
☐ generally friendly
☐ indifferent
☐ unfriendly

*(10a). Elaborate.

Relationship
With
Neighbors

11. Have you experienced hostility from any of your neighbors or shopkeepers? ☐ yes
☐ no

*(11a). If yes, explain who and how).

12. Is this a neighborhood in which neighbors visit each other frequently (once a week or more)? ☐ yes
☐ no

(12a). Do you visit your neighbors in their homes? ☐ yes
☐ no

(12b). (If yes, how often?) ☐ regularly (daily)
☐ frequently (once a week or more)
☐ occasionally (once a month or more)
☐ once a month or less
☐ only once

(12c). Do your neighbors visit you in your home? ☐ yes
☐ no

(12d). (If yes, how often?) ☐ regularly
☐ frequently
☐ occasionally
☐ once a month or less
☐ only once or twice

13. Have you (or your husband/wife) developed any close friendships in the neighborhood? ☐ yes
☐ no

*(13a). (If yes, determine to what extent).

*14. What other neighborhood interactions have you experienced such as frequent conversations, invitations to parties, dinner invitations, etc.

Children

15. Number . Male Female
Age:

16. Are there children in the neighborhood of the same ages? ☐ yes
☐ no
(If for some, but not all, note which.)

17. Do your children play with the other children in the neighborhood?

_____ yes
_____ no

(If some do, but not all, note which.)

18. If yes, do they go into their white friends' homes?

_____ regularly
_____ frequently
_____ occasionally
_____ once a month or less
_____ only once or twice

19. Do your children bring their friends to your house?

_____ regularly
_____ frequently
_____ occasionally
_____ once a month or less
_____ only once or twice

20. Have they developed any close friendships in the neighborhood?

If yes, are any of these close neighbors?

_____ yes _____ no

Name and addresses

21. Name of schools they attend: Primary Jr. High High School

Is this school: all white

less than 5% Negro

more than 5%, less

than 50%

Over 50% Negro

private

public

parochial

_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

22. Are their "best friends":

Negro?
in another neigh-
borhood _____ blocks
away.

white?
this
neighborhood.

white?
in
another
neighborhood

Child

_____	_____	_____	_____
_____ blocks away: _____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

23. Have your childrens' school grades improved or gotten worse since they are living in this neighborhood?

improved

about the same

worse

Child

24. Have there been any incidents involving problems between your children and other children in the neighborhood which you believe was because of the difference in race? yes
no

*(24a). If yes, explain the incidents in detail and what you did about them, if anything.

25. Have there been any incidents involving problems between your children and adults in the neighborhood which you believe was because of the difference in race? yes
no

*(25a). If yes, explain the incidents in detail and what you did about them, if anything.

26. Do any of your children (under 21 and over 5) belong to any organizations (excluding school-related) in the neighborhood? yes
no

*(26a). If no, why?

(26b). If yes, list child by child groups belonging to and how he/she happened to join.

27. Have any of your children been invited to parties or other gatherings in the neighborhood? yes
no

(27a.) If yes, list and tell how they happened to be invited.

itudes

28. Interracial contacts are desirable for: children
teenagers
adults

29. To what degree do you feel that you have been accepted into the neighborhood: completely
with reservation
not accepted
don't know

30. How much improvement do you think there has been in your acceptance in this neighborhood? ☐ much
☐ slight
☐ none
☐ don't know

31. How do you think your presence in this neighborhood has affected property values? ☐ has lowered
☐ has increased
☐ has not affected
☐ don't know

32. Are there things you miss as a result of moving into a predominantly white neighborhood? ☐ yes
☐ no

*(32a). Explain

33. Would you like to see other Negroes move into your neighborhood? ☐ yes
☐ no

(33a). If yes, how many? ☐ 1 or 2
☐ 3 - 10
☐ no set number

*(33b). Explain your choice above and explain any reservations you may have about the move-in of other Negro families.

34. Would you unreservedly advise other Negroes to move to all-white neighborhoods? ☐ yes
☐ no

*(34a). Why, or why not?

35. Do you think Pennsylvania's Fair Housing Law is:
☐ no opinion
☐ too strong
☐ strong enough
☐ not strong enough
☐ weak
☐ don't know about law

*36. What changes would you recommend?

Personal
Data

37. Number of job holders in family. _____

38. Occupations: _____

39. Total income bracket: ☐ under 4,000
☐ 4,000 - 6,000
☐ 6,000 - 9,000
☐ 9,000 - 12,000
☐ 12,000+

40. Education attained (husband and wife):

_____ grammar school
_____ completed jr. high school
_____ completed high school
_____ attended college
_____ graduated from college
_____ have also some advanced study
_____ have an advanced degree

41. Value (market) of home:

_____ Above 30,000
_____ 20 - 30,000
_____ 17 - 19,000
_____ 14 - 16,000
_____ 11 - 15,000
_____ 8 - 10,000
_____ Under 8,000

42. Organizations belonging to and their location. (Husband and wife)

(42a). Are you (or your husband/wife) an officer in any of these organizations? _____ yes
_____ no

If yes, list offices held:

*(42b). To what extent do you participate in the activities of these organizations?

43. If you attend church, what church, and where located:

"Thank you for permitting us to interview you etc." Then ask permission to interview neighbors and ask questions about their feelings and relationships with the pioneer family.

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PENNSYLVANIA HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION

HARRISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA

1968

THE NEGRO
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THE ALL-WHITE NEIGHBORHOOD

A study of the experiences of 36 Negro families who moved into previously all-white rural and suburban neighborhoods and of the attitudes of their white neighbors.

PENNSYLVANIA HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION

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